

The Catholic's Sound Americanism.

THE REV. THOMAS J. KERNAN.

An Address Delivered at a Holy Name Demonstration
Held at Passaic, N. J., October 19, 1919.

Men of the Holy Name Society, Catholic men of the Passaic District, I congratulate you most heartily on this magnificent public profession of your Faith. In these days of religious indifference and unbelief you are proud to raise aloft that glorious banner of the Holy Name and declare to the world that the Lord Jesus Christ still lives and reigns. And when at the close of these exercises you bow your head to receive the blessing of Jesus in the Sacrament of the Altar, and join in the prayers and hymns of the liturgy, you will add to your act of faith in the Divinity of Christ an act of faith in the Church which He founded, the one, true, Catholic and Apostolic Church, "the pillar and the ground of truth."

At this hour in this diocese of Newark, in ten different centers, Catholic men are gathered together as we are here, and in most places in larger numbers, but I venture to say that at no gathering in this great diocese of Newark today is the wonderful unity and catholicity of our Faith so palpably manifested to the world as with us here this afternoon. I see before me men of all the races of Europe—Magyar and Pole and Slovak, Teuton and Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Celt, and some whose ancestry in America antedates the Revolution—men who differ in race, in language, in politics, but who are brothers in Christ, professing the same Faith, accepting the same Sacraments and the same great Sacrifice of the Altar, and yielding spiritual obedience to the one visible Head. It is a glorious and inspiring sight, and I pray that this great act of faith in which we all join will inspire us to live more worthy of Him whose adorable Name we honor, and venerate, and glorify today.

Since our last meeting three years ago the world has been tried as by fire. The terrible war through which we have passed has shaken society to its very foundations. Men are bewildered, like children who

have escaped from a burning house, and turn this way and that for safety. In this universal upheaval and in the murky gloom through which the world is staggering and gropingly making its way into the light of a new era, there are many conflicting voices and contradictory counsels. Under the hallowed names of liberty and democracy and social justice, the most radical and subversive theories and schemes are propounded, so that unless men have a clear understanding and firm grasp of the basic principles of government and human society they will be led astray to their own undoing and the thwarting and hindrance of real progress. There is great need, therefore, for every man who loves his country and his kind to study seriously the conditions and problems that confront us and to hold himself ready, according to the measure of his ability and opportunity, to co-operate in the reestablishment of peace and order.

I have just called attention to the cosmopolitan character of this great audience, to its diversities of race and language, and then to the wonderful unity that binds us all together as brothers around the altar of the Catholic Church. Now, as in our religious life we are held together in this marvelous unity by the bond of our Catholic Faith, so are we united in the civil order with all our fellow-citizens, by our political faith, which the world has come to call American democracy. Some of you were born into the rights and privileges of American citizenship and inherit your political faith from ancestors who fought and died to establish and preserve this Republic. Others have come to America in your full-grown manhood, and having forsaken allegiance to your former governments, have taken your places as citizens side by side with those who are to the manner born.

LOYALTY OF THE FOREIGN-BORN.

I first address myself to the men of foreign birth here today and I put to them the question that is in the minds of many of our fellow-citizens: What of your loyalty to America? As America accords you the right and privileges of citizenship can she feel

sure that you have become imbued with the ideals, the principles, the spirit of American democracy? Can America trust you?

My Catholic brothers. I take it upon myself to answer for you. The religion you profess and practise is the guarantee of your loyalty. I go further; apart from religion, the man of right reason who has not been poisoned by the pernicious radicalism of the day, before he has ever seen America, is a lover of American democracy. And no sooner has he breathed the free air of America, while unable to express his thoughts in our language, than he is ready to follow through battle and death the Star Spangled Banner. Read the honor roll of our heroes who at the call of our country volunteered for the war; scan the bead-roll of those who lie in soldier graves in far-off France, and you will be forced to conclude that there is no son or daughter of the American Revolution in this broad land today, if sacrifice is the pledge of sincerity, who cherishes Old Glory and all it symbolizes with more affection than the men before me, who first drew breath under alien skies.

To the hard-headed, provincial American of Cromwellian antecedents and innate hatred of prelacy, to whom "foreigner" is particularly objectionable because it is probably Catholic, it is a mystery how you have become Americanized so thoroughly and so quickly. It is hard to make such a one believe that you can be really Americanized without his intervention. What does he see? Yesterday you were Irish or Poles or Slovaks or Ukrainians or Italians or Germans, today you are Americans. What has wrought this change in you? Do men hold allegiance to the land of their birth so lightly that they can throw it aside like an old garment and become citizens of another country by simply crossing the ocean? Can we be sure of the loyalty of men who can change their political ideals and principles so easily?

You men of Europe, who have come to America in your mature manhood, you have not changed your ideals or your principles. When a man, after many years of search and disappointment, at length makes

his way into the Catholic Church one of the surprises that meets him is to find so much in the Church that he always hoped to be true and wished to believe. The reason is that the human intellect has a natural affinity for the good and the true, and hence it has been said that the soul of man is naturally Christian. I might say, with equal truth, the soul of man is naturally free. The soul of man has within it a native sense and love of liberty, and when denied it, pines for it as the fettered eagle longs for the glorious freedom of the mountains and the skies. The man of right reason naturally wishes for the fullest measure of freedom consistent with the rights of God, and his fellow-man.

THE MAJESTY OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

Therefore, when you came to America you did not need to change your ideals or your principles, for, the ideals and principles of a true democracy are the natural heritage of every man the world over. You might not know how to speak our language, but you knew that the spirit of liberty that in all past time had appeared to men only at intervals in vision, had taken up her permanent abode in the land of the free. You knew that no accident of birth or patent of nobility was needed to win for you a voice in the affairs of your government. The only patent of nobility you needed was your honest manhood. You knew when you asked for the privilege of citizenship that you were asking for the most sacred thing you could aspire to outside of the Sacraments of the Church. What wonder, then, that when you raised your hand in promise of fealty to the Constitution and the Flag, your soul was thrilled with a joyous exaltation, as you realized that in this great Democracy of the West you had found the El Dorado of your dreams, the true home and exemplar to the world of political and religious freedom. Henceforth you can say, I am an American citizen—the proudest title a man can bear, a title in comparison with which the boasted citizenship of ancient Rome was but a gilded slavery. For the American can say, I am an American citizen,

not simply because I enjoy the protection and privileges of this great Republic; I exercise imperial rights. I have my share in the determination of the boundaries that shall circumscribe my liberties. The Roman citizen was a subject; the American citizen is a king.

I know I am but expressing your heartfelt sentiments when I say that every man of foreign birth here today is proud of his American citizenship, or of his opportunity to become a citizen. I believe, furthermore, that I interpret faithfully the birth and growth in your souls of American patriotism. It was born in your home across the ocean in the love of liberty that the great Creator implanted in your soul, it was nurtured and developed by the vivifying air of democracy that was wafted to the old world from the shores of America, and it opened into full flower when you set foot on American soil.

This does not mean, as none knows better than you, that there is nothing more to learn. At present there is a great movement on foot to teach all newcomers to America the practical duties involved in citizenship. The purpose of the Government and of the American people in this movement of Americanization is to enable immigrants to enter fully and quickly into their new-found inheritance. Americanization is the concrete expression of the welcome that America offers to you when you come to this new land. America wants you. The vast majority of our people whose ancestors have been here for generations extend to you the right hand of fellowship. They remember that not so long ago, as time is reckoned in the life of a nation, fathers and mothers from whom they are descended were foreigners here, and they are glad to help you and your children to attain the comforts and the position which they enjoy. Therefore, I would ask you to co-operate heartily with those who have your welfare and the welfare of our country at heart. Become enthusiastic disciples in the school of American democracy. Let the language of America be your language, study the Constitution and history of our country and take your place as free men in the ranks of American citizens. America welcomes

you to her bosom, places her hand on your head in benediction, and opens wide to you the door of opportunity. Your destiny is in your own hands, to make or mar as your intelligence and industry shall be employed.

The formal movement of Americanization, which now occupies so much the attention of our Government and of citizens generally, is, in its present intensive form, a by-product of the war. All through our history we had boasted that America was the melting pot, where men of all races were quickly fused into a new breed. But the war, with its race interests and conflicts, aroused our people to the need of stimulating and guiding the natural process of Americanization. We no longer wanted citizens with a divided allegiance. The immigrant who becomes a citizen must place the Stars and Stripes above every other flag on earth. His loyalty and patriotism must be above suspicion. It soon became manifest, however, that the normal immigrant was naturally patriotic and loyal, because, as I have said, he was naturally a lover of liberty and justice, and the discovery was made that the real danger was not treason or disloyalty to the American Government, but a radicalism that disclaimed and hated all existing forms of government.

SOCIALISM OF FOREIGN ORIGIN.

Socialism and its offspring, Syndicalism, I. W. W.-ism, and Bolshevism, are of foreign origin, have been propagated in this country mostly by men of foreign birth, and hence some apprehension has arisen as to the extent to which these dangerous doctrines have spread or may spread among our foreign-born. One result of our meeting today will be, I hope, to make clear to this community the necessity of distinguishing sharply between two classes of people who come to our shores from Europe: "the heralds of revolt," who are a menace to all government and who are comparatively few, and the law-abiding, home-loving millions, like so many here today, who love America as their future home and the home of their children.

My brethren, there are no Socialists, no Syndicalists,

no Bolsheviks, no I. W. W.s among you. Catholicism and Socialism in all its forms are as antagonistic as fire and water. The reason is because Catholicism and Socialism are based on two entirely different systems of belief; the one acknowledges God's revelations as its foundation and guarantee, the other banishes God from His Creation and takes its stand on barren materialism. Between the two there can be no choice for a Catholic. Do not be deluded, therefore, when you hear the advocates of radicalism protest that their system has nothing to do with religion, that it is only a question of economics, of better pay and better living for the working class. If you take the trouble to brush aside the fancy picture they paint of the Socialistic commonwealth, you will find that it involves the acceptance of principles that are fundamentally opposed to the Ten Commandments, and you will find furthermore, that it would produce a veritable slavery, in which the Lenines and Trotzkys would be the real masters.

Not that way lies your economic salvation. The working man undoubtedly, in many instances, suffered grievous wrongs in the past, and who shall blame him if, now that he feels his power, he take all lawful means to prevent a recurrence of those wrongs. But you can never right wrongs by committing other wrongs. You cannot bring about the reign of justice by injustice. If there is a leak in the roof of your house you cannot make things better by wrecking the house or by burning it down. If you should attempt that absurd remedy you will do away with the leak, but you will leave yourself houseless and homeless.

Equally foolish and ridiculous is the proposal of our radical visionaries, who promise to end our troubles by wrecking society as it is at present constituted and rebuilding it again on plans of their own. What master builders these same radicals are of States and industries that they have already wrecked and ruined we shall only understand fully when the true story of Bolshevism, in Russia becomes public.

THE MESSAGE OF THE CHURCH.

The Catholic Church, the Divine teacher of the nations, in these days of trial and anxiety, repeats again and again the solemn warning of Jesus Christ. "Beware of false prophets!" Beware of false principles, of false teaching. This warning she addresses first of all to the employers of labor, the men who control capital and thus have so largely in the past controlled the destiny of the workingman and his family. She has not hesitated through her authoritative head, the great Leo XIII, to point the finger of scorn and reproach at the small group of rich men in every country "who have laid upon the teeming masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." After speaking of the working men's gilds, which the Church fostered in the old Catholic times, and of the changes wrought by the Protestant revolt, he goes on to say "that by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been surrendered all isolated and helpless to the hardheartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition." And his voice rings with indignation as he declares that "It is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power." He declares furthermore, that "Some remedy must be found and found quickly for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the poor." He then proceeds to lay down the principles sanctioned by the law of nature and the Divine positive law which should govern the relations of capital and labor; the right to hold private property; the sacredness of family life; the dignity of labor and its full remuneration; the right of working men to organize; the duty of the State in maintaining justice for all, in protecting the weak and helpless, in favoring the multiplication of property-owners and hence the more equitable distribution of property; and finally, the return of civilized society to the Christian life and institutions from which it sprang.

It is now nearly thirty years since Leo XIII issued his famous Encyclical "On the Condition of Labor,"

which has been well called the Magna Charta of the working man. Since that time the condition of the wage-earner has been improved in many respects. But these improvements have been brought about as a rule, not by the voluntary concessions of employers, but by the pressure which organized labor has been able to bring to bear on the forces of capital. In fact, labor has had to fight for every new foothold it has gained, from serfdom up to its present acknowledged high position. In that age-long struggle, up from slavery the constant friend and ally of the working man has been the Catholic Church.

We have seen with what whips of scorpions the Church lashes the tyranny of capitalism; she has also a message and a warning for labor. She reminds the working man that labor and capital are necessary to each other, are mutually dependent, and in fact that as things are in our modern life one cannot exist without the other. Capital and labor are the two poles of the great dynamo of business; if one is injured the other suffers. Labor needs capital and intelligent direction just as the hands and feet of the human body need the guidance of eye and brain. In a word, capital and labor should form a partnership analogous to marriage. Capital supplies the means; labor keeps the house. And just as the noble husband cherishes his wife and unselfishly provides for her and for her children even before he thinks of himself, so does, or so should, capital provide for labor. In marriage the wife is not the slave of the husband; she is his partner; he shares with her his hopes and plans and provides more generously for her as his prosperity increases. On the other hand, labor should be thoroughly interested in the partnership; should strive to build up and not tear down. If capital should be just and generous, labor should be faithful and honest.

CATHOLICS REPUDIATE BOLSHEVISM.

To labor, also, the Church addresses the warning of her Divine Founder: "Beware of false prophets." When the false prophets are openly known as such, it is

not difficult to avoid them and to combat their teaching; but when the wolf comes in sheep's clothing there is great danger that he will do irreparable damage to the flock before he is detected. We are just beginning now to open our eyes here in America to the fact that there are such wolves in sheeps' clothing going about among our working men. When the wild-eyed radical appeals to you to stand by your brother-workers throughout the world you are impressed, but when he goes on to tell you that the remedy for all the ills of our present system lies in the collective ownership of capital and that the way to abolish individual ownership is by "direct action," by bloody revolution, you shrug your shoulders and pass on. But when his keener and more intellectual brother joins your labor union and, posing as a good union man, is always on the watch to fan every little blaze into a conflagration, is always urging "strike," inveighing in season and out of season against capital and capitalists, and all the while is working insidiously to commit your union to the Bolshevik program, then it is not so easy to guard against false prophets. That is the danger of the hour. If labor unionism is to serve the working man, if it is to contribute its share to the common welfare, it must purge itself of radicalism under whatever name: I. W. W., Syndicalist, Bolshevik, or Socialist. If it should come about in any particular union, or in the American Federation of Labor, that radicalism should seriously interfere in carrying on the true purposes of the organization, then there is only one course left for Catholics, and indeed for all men who love our Constitution and our flag, and that is to leave that organization and form another based on the principles of Christian democracy.

That is precisely what the sturdy workers in England did last year. When the English Labor party adopted Socialism, the conservative element, that is, all the Catholics and men of kindred views, left the Labor party and formed the Center Labor party, which is rapidly becoming a great power in the labor world in England. The Center Labor party is firm and unflinching in guarding the rights of labor, but it

stands like Gibraltar against the surging tide of radicalism. It may be necessary for us here in America, in the near future, to take a leaf from the experience of labor in England.

In conclusion, let me in your name and in the name of the clergy, reaffirm our public profession of faith in Jesus Christ. He, the Eternal Son of God, who holds creation in the hollow of His hand, who for love of us put aside the riches, and the glory of infinite majesty, and took upon Himself our poor, frail, human nature and as a working man earned His bread by the sweat of His brow, He alone has the formula for international and domestic peace. Covenants and treaties and leagues and labor agreements are only temporary and weak expedients for bringing peace, unless they rest on the bed-rock of the Decalogue, the Ten Commandments, which Our Lord has reduced to two, the love of God and the love of our neighbor.

GOD AND COUNTRY.

Let us reaffirm, also, our faith in the Church which Jesus Christ founded to be the bearer and interpreter of His message to men and nations, to the ends of the earth and to the end of time—the Church, one, Catholic and Apostolic. Is there any one so ill-acquainted with history as to look askance upon that Church as alien to the life and spirit of America? If so let us remind him again that the Catholic Church came to America with Columbus and has continued her mission here uninterrupted ever since. Her missionaries charted this continent and gave the names of the mysteries of their Faith, or of the Saints they most revered, to its mountains, its lakes and rivers. When the Republic of the West sprang into existence she rejoiced and invoked upon it God's benediction. The Church can carry on her Divine mission under any form of government, and preaches obedience to all lawfully constituted authority, but she thrives best in a democracy. With enthusiastic loyalty, therefore, she has raised aloft the banner of freedom and placed it beside the Cross. As she is ready to face the world in defense of the standard of the Saviour, so too

is she always ready to defend the standard of the Republic. The Catholic Church supported Washington in the Revolution and drew from him words of commendation. The blood of her sons has been shed in every war in which we have been engaged from that day to this, and lying in new-made graves on the battlefields of France, or in soldier graves at home, are many brave young hearts, who three years ago marched in our ranks and knelt with us at this altar. Their comrades who survived the war are with us in their hundreds here today. Valiant defenders of the Star Spangled Banner, intrepid soldiers of Jesus Christ, veterans of the Great War, you have traced for us all on the open page of history in characters more enduring than bronze the watchword of the Catholic men of America: *God and Country.*

Catholicism the Cure for the Nation's Unrest.

ALFRED J. TALLEY.

An Address Delivered by the Assistant District Attorney of New York at a Holy Name Rally Held at Montclair, N. J., October 19, 1919.

From the "Catholic News."

NOT long ago a distinguished professor, addressing a scientific body, said that if we could dig into the center of the earth a distance of eight and one-half miles, enough energy could be secured to supply all the power needed in the commercial world. It would seem to the observer that power is the greatest concern of modern times. With the oft-repeated warning that in fifty years or so there will be a lack of coal, new and inexhaustible supplies of oil are discovered, and we learn that we can get along without coal, if need be, and we see our greatest ships of the United States navy propelled by oil and the indispensable stoker is beginning to find his occupation gone.

Niagara, recently viewed with much photography by visiting royalty, was once the object of awe be-

cause of the volume of water that bounded over the rocks and ran on in tempestuous flight to the river below. But now the power house is the thing, and the visitor to Niagara is more interested in the fact that the water is utilized to turn the wheels of giant turbines from which are supplied light and heat and power than in the majestic beauty of the falls. . . .

Closely allied with the thought of power—the kind that makes wheels turn, and engines hum, is the theory of might and the force of authority—power of another kind. A war has been fought and millions have been slain to demolish the attempted demonstration of the doctrines of kings that "Might makes Right." A great empire had been builded upon that theory. Man's will had been made subject to discipline and system. The old idea of the Spartans in the very beginnings of civilization that the State was the thing, and that the family and the individual must give way in everything to the State, forgetting that the individual and the family make up the State and the nation and must be the foundation of either—this Spartan idea one nation of Europe sought to adapt to the twentieth century, and conscious of its strength in discipline and in arms, waited during years of preparation for its time to arrive. Civilization had builded its structure, laying one century on another as a mason lays one stone upon a stone. Quiet reigned, the arts flourished, commerce thrived, prosperity was filling the horn of plenty in almost every country of the earth, when one day the shot of a frenzied boy rang out in a Bosnian street and an Archduke fell and civilization fell with him. The nation that believed in its doctrine of might sounded its impatient clarion of war. Its day had come. Its system and its long preparation made it ready and eager. No power on earth, it believed, could withstand its might, and so it moved on to make short work of the rest of humanity that still believed that right must stand, though the heavens fall. In the wake of the chariot of might hell itself was loosed and for four ghastly years raged and spent its fury until out of the stillness of a November dawn came the words "Cease firing," and the

stricken world went mad for joy. Peace had come, but on the instant another war began.

Not a war where the genius of man was expended in devising engines of death, in which poison gas, the submarine and aeroplane hurled death and destruction on land and sea, but war of political disquiet and governmental unrest, a war of the individual striving against authority. The workman and his employers are apart when the requirements of good sense and mutual help demand that they be together. With the demand for production of every commodity of life insistent, idle men stand in sullen groups on every corner. With the markets of the world teeming with custom there are not available the materials to supply the ordinary and legitimate demands of trade.

During the years of the conflict the explanation for every commercial inconvenience and lack of supply was "the war." Today the explanation for worse conditions is invariably "labor troubles." If these conditions were American in their origin and results we could seek for a solution from our national institutions and ideas. But the spirit of unrest, of disquiet, of evil foreboding began in Europe almost before the news of the ending of the war came flashing its way over the Atlantic through the waves of the air, and in Europe it rages as badly as here. Back of it all looms the shadow, black, forbidding and ominous of that new doctrine of disorder and force—the demands of the Bolshevism that sprang up as a giant tree from the gory pavements of Petrograd and spread its crimsoned leaves over every quarter of the civilized world.

BOLSHEVISM ABANDONS GOD.

If we then seek a remedy let us with prudence examine the cause. The dominant aspiration of the Bolshevik is to abandon the idea of God. We, in this country, have made easy the progress of this madness by driving out by legislation the teaching of religion in our schools. Our children may be taught the lives, the wars and the amours of every god and goddess of pagan mythology, but the name of Christ must not be spoken in the school-room. The walls of the school

house may show the pictures and statues of real or fabled heroes of Greece or ancient Rome, but no picture of the Redeemer or His Immaculate Mother may be shown, lest some squeamish soul in this Christian country may be sore offended.

The aim of the Bolshevik is to make away with authority. We in this land of ours have again made easy his path. We are bringing up our children day by day in an atmosphere in which respect for authority, whether embodied in parent, teacher, Church or State is notably conspicuous by its absence. I am in daily contact with the appalling consequences of this cancer of neglect in the training of our young. The criminal of today is a boy in years. In the City of New York the desperate hold-up, the robbery, the almost daily murder is invariably done by boys of seventeen, eighteen and nineteen years of age. It is the one thing connected with our work that is most disheartening, because we are so helpless to bring it to an end. Laws will not help, punishment will not deter, the death penalty itself does not prevent. They do not and cannot reach the conscience and the heart of men.

The spirit of the Bolshevik is a mighty force which appeals to the body of man and not his soul, to his greed and not his heart, to his brute instinct and not his mind. It is filled with alluring promises, but is barren of performance, and it must fail when its course is run, because it lacks a power and a force of which we have not spoken and which the world, it would seem, has for a time forgot, a force which your presence here typifies today—the power of justice, of right, of morality, of religion, the power which springs unconquerable from the reverence of God, of His kingdom, of His teaching and of His Holy Name.

There is in this country today one who to my mind is the greatest and most outstanding figure which the World War produced. Not a soldier, not a statesman, but a priest, Mercier, the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines. Amidst the terrible desolation of his country, amidst its four years of occupation by a barbarous and implacable foe, in daily risk of imprisonment and

death and reprisals for his defense of his faithful people, he stood forth brave and defiant. . . . He taught his people that fidelity to their Catholic Faith meant and demanded fidelity to their country.

FAITH AND PATRIOTISM.

That principle is ours without qualification or reserve. The one is inseparable from the other. Respect for duly constituted authority is a dominant doctrine of our Catholic Faith and is equally requisite and essential to insure soundness and stability in civil government. It is because we believe in respect for authority that in this and every other State we maintain, without State aid, free schools for thousands of our children, while at the same time we do our share in the support of secular schools, in the unquestioned advantages of which we cannot share because of our conviction that the child must have something more than a mere training of the mind; because we believe, and experience amply justifies our belief, that the education of the mind without the training of the heart in religion and in the beautiful and eternal truths of our Faith does not make for that exalted type of American citizenship which the world now knows Catholic men in action and Catholic women in sacrifice are ready to practise as well as to preach. And so it is that we educate our children in the shadow of a steeple that points as a finger to Heaven as the true inspiration and the real destiny of their young and impressionable lives.

In an age of irreligion and irreverence, in a day of appalling social and political unrest, the teaching of religion to your children and the practices of that religion by the members of your Holy Name Society and by the women of your households will be your answer to the Bolshevik and the Socialist of this and every other land. This demonstration and others like it in this State of New Jersey and throughout the land will be your pledge to the Government of the United States that the Church, whose banners you bear, and that was built upon a rock, and that for 2,000 years has stood adamant against the forces of evil that tear down and

never build up, will lend all its power, all its authority, all its resources, and all its blood if need be, for the preservation of the ideals of our Government; the old ideals which made our country great, indomitable and free, the plain ideals that Washington prayed upon the blood-stained snows of Valley Forge might be preserved, ideals which must be treasured and fostered if our country will endure.

And as we kneel at Benediction upon this ground and before this shrine which reverent hands have made, let us, in simple, manly fashion, ask the God of all nations to keep our beloved country free from the evils that beset the earth, let us remind Him that it was His voice that said that if we seek first His kingdom then all things will be added unto us.

The Church and the Worker

THE MOST REVEREND THOMAS P. GILMARTIN, D. D.

*From a Sermon Preached by the Archbishop of Tuam at
Glasthule, October 10, 1919.*

SO far from countenancing either prejudice or injustice toward the working man, the Catholic Church has, from the very beginning, been the fearless champion of his dignity as well as of his rights. To begin with, could the Founder of the Church, Christ Himself, do more to assert its dignity than He did in giving an example of labor in His own Person and in the persons of His earthly family? I suppose it is true to say that there never appeared on this earth a more fragrant, delicate and beautiful human blossom than that daughter of Adam whom we call Mary the Virgin. She is the vision of perfect womanhood in whom were summed up all the beauty, all the purity and all the grace and loveliness of character that have ever appeared in woman. In the economy of redemption it was necessary that this handmaid of God should have a husband who would know how to respect the treasure committed to his charge. What kind of a man was this husband? He was not a slave, for slavery is incompatible with the natural dignity of man.

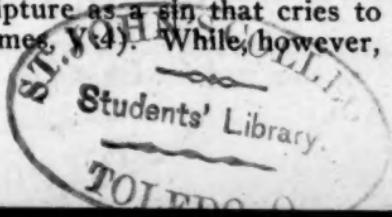
But if the husband of Mary was not a slave, neither was he a capitalist. He belonged to the best type of working man. He was a cultured tradesman who had a house of his own, who made a living for himself and for the family entrusted to his charge, by the labor of his hand.

He might be called a nobleman workman for he was of the house of King David. But this was not all that Christ did to put the stamp of dignity on labor. Though Christ was God, yet as man born of a woman, He grew up from childhood to boyhood and from boyhood to manhood. How did He spend his life as a boy? He worked at the trade of His father. Among the inhabitants of Nazareth He passed for a carpenter's son and for a carpenter. When at the beginning of His public life His wisdom showed itself in marvelous speech or mighty words, the people said, as is reported in the Gospels. "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?" (Mark VI:3). And from what class did he choose His Apostles? He chose them mostly from the class who made their living by fishing. Need I say more to prove the dignity of the kind of work which we call labor? This kind of work is worthy of man, worthy of a free man, worthy of the highest type of man—firstly, because it is essential for the well-being of society; and secondly, because the greatest Man that ever appeared in the world, the Man who was also God, was, as a boy, a carpenter, and passed for the son of a carpenter. This dignity no social prejudice can dethrone, but while no one but himself can filch his dignity from the working man, so much cannot be said for the rights of labor. There was always a labor question in the world, because there were always in the world rich and poor, and among the rich there were always found individuals, who, not contented with abundance, took advantage of the necessities of the poor to wring from them the maximum amount of labor for insufficient wages. . . .

THE CHURCH PROTECTS LABOR.

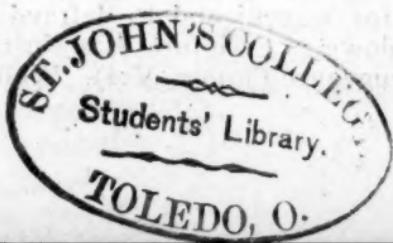
It will be sufficient to state that the Catholic Church was always the patron and protector of labor. The two centuries preceding the "Reformation" may be

called the golden era of labor. In these centuries the different crafts were organized into gilds, which regulated the conditions of labor, subject in a very large measure to the teachings of theology. With the Reformation the gilds were swept away, and the workman's lot became more and more unendurable, until, under the influence of industrial and individual competition it reached the stage of wage slavery in the first half of the nineteenth century. During the last half century labor has made rapid strides from slavery to independence. When the struggle of the relative claims of labor and capital was fiercest, Pope Leo XIII, in 1891, issued his famous Encyclical on the rights and duties of labor. Brushing aside the cold dogma of political economy, that the price of labor was to follow the law of supply and demand, he laid down that no matter how copious is the supply of laborers, the laborer has a right to a living wage—i. e., a wage that will maintain the workman and his family in decent and frugal comfort—and that the capitalist is bound to regulate prices and profits in a way that will give his employees at least this living wage. At present the rights of labor as regards wages, hours, insurance and compensation for injuries are well defined, but while there may be room for improvement in the status of the workers, and especially of women and children who are compelled to labor, just now it is as important to insist on the duties as much as on the rights of labor. I am not going to speak on the duty of any man or any woman to work at something useful; nor am I going to insist on the commonplace that a workman is bound to give an honest day's work for an honest wage. I prefer to mention some errors which are held about labor, and to point out the duty of labor unions to keep in view the good of society as well as the good of the class which they represent. One error is that to work for wages is slavery. Work for wages is not slavery, because by the natural law a man has a right to contract with an employer for wages; and to defraud him of his wages is set down in Scripture as a sin that cries to Heaven for vengeance (James 5:4). While, however,



a working man has a natural right to hire his labor, working for mere wages is not an ideal human condition. The system has often led to injustice in the past, and at the present day it is productive of discontent and strife, for even though a workman gets a living wage, still when he sees the capitalist making enormous profits which bring no benefit to the worker who contributed largely to make them, it is not human nature to be quiescent. The cry has gone abroad that the laborer is robbed of the just value of his labor, and, under the protection of powerful unions, strikes are the natural result. As labor is essential to the well-being of society, it follows that an unjust strike is an attack on society.

Hence, a strike is never lawful except certain conditions are present. Those conditions are: First, the advantages sought by the workers are ones to which they have a just claim; second, a peaceful solution of the difficulty must have been tried and found ineffective; third, the grievances complained of must outweigh the evil results that are likely to follow from the strike; and fourth, there must be good grounds for hoping that the strike will be successful. There are two remedies against strikes. One is to give the workman not alone a living wage, but also an interest in the profits. A sense of ownership has always a steady effect on human nature. A man who has a home and some land has a greater interest in the well-being of society than a mere wage-earner who has no fixed home. Work at home, if it can be had, is more wholesome than work in factories. St. Joseph was a workman of this type. But if there is to be work in a factory or on a railway or in any public concern, the conviction that the workman will get a share of the profits will give him a personal and friendly interest in the success of the concern or company. . . .



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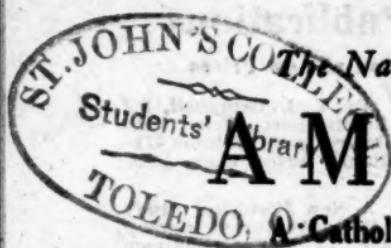
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